

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ACDA-05 ISO-00 OMB-01 SAJ-01 SSO-00

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AF-06 EA-07 ARA-06 /090 W

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O R 281705Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3083

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, XF

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN EUROPE AT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS

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REF: MOSCOW 3071

1. SUMMARY - AFTER CEAUSESCU FEBRUARY 26, THE NEXT DAY SAW DOLANC AND BERLINGUER DELIVER LECTURE ON YUGOSLAV AND ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE FROM THE PODIUM OF THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS. APPLAUSE REACHED A LOW OF THREE OUTBURSTS FOR BERLINGUER. NON-ALIGNMENT WAS MAIN FEATURE DISTINGUISHING DOLANJ'S REMARKS FROM CEAUSESCU'S. ALTHOUGH REAFFIRMATION OF NATO COMMITMENT BY BERLINGUER HAS ATTRACTED MOST ATTENTION, IN FACT WHOLE SPEECH IN TONE AND SUBSTANCE READS LIKE A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. OLD TIME ANTI-IMPERIALIST RELIGION BY ANGOLAN SPEAKER SANDWICHED BETWEEN THE TWO SOUTHERN EUROPEANS BROUGHT SUSLOV TO HIS FEET EVEN BEFORE TRANSLATION OVER, AND CONTRAST IN RECEPTIVITY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE STRIKING. SOVIETS HAVE A PROBLEM WITH SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS, BOTH RULING AND NON-RULING, AND ATTENTION BREZHNEV GAVE TO IT SUGGESTS THEY EXPECTED TOUGH TALK FROM THE CONGRESS PODIUM EVEN BEFORE IT BEGAN. GIVING SOUTHERNERS A DAY IN COURT IS NO SOLUTION, BECAUSE IT IS NO LONGER A COURT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING KADAR, ZHIVKOV AND CEAUSESCU (REFTEL), THE PRO-CESSION OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADERS TO THE TRIBUNE OF THE SOVIET CONGRESS CONTINUED FEBRUARY 27 WITH LCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC AND PCI SECRETARY GENERAL ENRICO BERLINGUER. DOLANC CAME FIRST, AND WAS GIVEN THE SPACE HITHERTO ACCORDED CHIEFS OF RULING PARTIES IN PRAVDA (FEBRUARY 28); BERLINGUER ALSO GOT MORE SPACE THAN THE KOREAN AND ANGOLAN WHO PRECEDED HIM AND THE CHILEAN AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE WHO FOLLOWED. BUT THE PRAVDA APPLAUSOMETER TELLS THE TALE, IN TERMS OF COMMUNISM IN EUROPE: FROM 25 FOR ZHIVKOV, 20 FOR HONECKER, 19 EACH FOR JUSAK AND KADAR, 15 FOR GIEREK AND 10 FOR CEAUSESCU ON THE PREVIOUS DAYS, THE NUMBER OF OUTBURSTS DROPS TO 8 FOR DOLANC AND 3 FOR BERLINGUER. AS WITH CEAUSESCU THE DAY BEFORE, THE LONG MIDDLE PORTIONS WHERE THEY MADE THEIR REAL POINTS WERE GREETED WITH MASSIVE SILENCE.

3. DOLANC'S REMARKS IN FACT RESEMBLED CEAUSESCU'S IN BOTH STRUCTURE AND CONTENT, WITH GOOD WORDS FOR SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS AT THE BEGINNING AND THE COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THEM AT THE END, AND A LECTURE ON YUGOSLAV  
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INDEPENDENCE AND YUGOSLAV POSITIONS ON VARIOUS ISSUES IN THE MIDDLE. ONE DIFFERENCE, FOUR MENTIONS OF BREZHNEV TO CEAUSESCU'S ONE, IS ONLY APPARENT, SINCE THE CONTEXT FOR THREE OF DOLANC'S REFERENCES IS THE BREZHNEV-TITO NEXUS AND THE DOCUMENTS ON THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS THEY HAVE SIGNED TOGETHER, PRECEDED BY MENTION OF "THE CLEAR PRINCIPLES OF THE BELGRADE DECLARATION" (OF 1955). NEXT COMES A CLEAR STATEMENT THAT THE YUGOSLAVS LIBERATED

THEMSELVES IN WORLD WAR 11, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS MADE THE "DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION" TO OVERALL VICTORY. WITH EQUAL CLARITY, DOLANC THEN SETS FORTH THE YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO INTER-STATE RELATIONS ("ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THE PROVEN PRINCIPLES OF EQUAL RIGHTS, SOVEREIGNTY, MUTUAL RESPECT AND NON-INTERFERENCE"), INTER-PARTY RELATIONS ("COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY OF COMMUNISTS AND WORKERS' PARTIES, OF ALL PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS AND FORCES...BASED SOLELY ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUAL RIGHTS, AUTONOMY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH MOVEMENT TO ITS OWN WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE"), ACTIVE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, AND NON-ALIGNMENT. THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURE, COMPARED WITH CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS, IS OF COURSE THE STRONG DEFENSE AND DISPLAY OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND ITS ROLE IN DEMOCRATIZING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ON SPECIFICS, DOLANC MENTIONS THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING IN 1977, CALLS FOR "CONCRETE INITIATIVES AND PRACTICAL RESULTS" AND ESPECIALLY FOR DISARMAMENT AND NOT JUST ARMS CONTROL, AND PREDICTS THAT THE COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED MEETING "WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE STRUGGLE TO CREATE NEW INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS". IN CONCLUSION HE BALANCES DEFENSE OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT AND "DIRECT SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY" WITH A REFERENCE TO THE LCY'S EFFORTS TO SECURE "THE RULING POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS", BEFORE LAUNCHING INTO THE CALLS FOR MORE SOVIET-YUGOSLAV FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WHICH FINALLY DREW SOME APPLAUSE.

4. BERLINGUER DELIVERED WHAT READS IN PRAVDA LIKE A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE PCI, TO ALMOST NO APPLAUSE AT ALL. THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE IS OF COURSE THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE NATO COMMITMENT: "OUR STRUGGLE FOR AN ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY WHICH WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES WOULD ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO DETENTE AND DECISIVELY ESTABLISH THE ITALIAN PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY." BUT  
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THE WHOLE SPEECH IS UNCOMPROMISING IN ANY TERMS FAMILIAR TO SOVIET READERS (OR LISTENERS): THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED, THE LESS-DEVELOPED AND THE "REALISTICALLY THINKING" CAPITALISTS, ALONG WITH THE USSR AND OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES, TO CSCE SUCCESS; THE "PRINCIPLED AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE" OF "RECOGNITION AND RESPECT FOR THE FULL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY COUNTRY, EVERY PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND EVERY COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTY"; THE "OPEN AND SINCERE CONFRONTATION OF VARIOUS EXPERIENCES AND POSITIONS" GIVEN THE "VARIOUS POINTS OF VIEW" WHICH EXIST IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT "ON A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS, INCLUDING IMPORTANT ONES"; THE "NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALOGUE AND COMMON ACTION WITH VARIOUS WORKERS' AND POPULAR FORCES BOTH WITHIN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND IN WESTERN EUROPE AS A WHOLE"; AND THE ITALIAN "SOCIALIST SOCIETY" WHICH WOULD "GUARANTEE OBSERVANCE

OF ALL PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE LIBERTIES, LIBERTY OF RELIGION AND CULTURE, ART AND SCIENCE... IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A MULTIFACETED AND DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM". BERLINGUER'S REMARKS ABOUT INTERNATIONALISM, THE "FLAG OF INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY", AND THE "SINCERITY AND FRATERNAL CORDIALITY WHICH CHARACTERIZES (SPCU-PCI) RELATIONS" CANNOT HAVE BEEN VERY CONSOLING.

5. ANGOLAN INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION MINISTER BATISTA, SPEAKING BETWEEN DOLANC AND BERLINGUER, DELIVERED A TIRADE FULL OF THE OLD TIME RELIGION OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE, AND THE SOVIET TV RERUN SHOWED A REJUVENATED SUSLOV LEAPING TO HIS FEET TO LEAD APPLAUSE EVEN BEFORE THE TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN OF THE CONCLUDING "DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM"\* THE CONTRAST IN RECEPTIVITY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE STRIKING. LIKE EVERYONE ELSE, THE SOVIETS KNOW THERE IS A PROBLEM WITH THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN PARTIES, RULING AND NON-RULING. THE AMOUNT OF TIME BREZHNEV DEVOTED TO IT IN THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION OF THE CC REPORT SUGGESTS THAT THEY MAY ALSO EXPECTED TROUBLE AT THE CONGRESS. BY PULLING SO FEW PUNCHES, HOWEVER, THE SOUTHERN EUROPEANS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN UNDERLINING THE ISSUES DESPITE THIS PREEMPTIVE MOVE. THE SOVIETS GAVE THE SOUTHERNERS THEIR DAY IN COURT; THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMER IS THAT THERE IS NO LONGER A COURT.

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COMMUNISTS, PARTY MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 FEB 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** saccheem  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Reference:** 76 MOSCOW 3071  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** saccheem  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 31 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by saccheem>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOUTHERN EUROPE AT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS CONFIDENTIAL  
**TAGS:** PFOR, UR, XG  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006